

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY REGISTER.

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## NOTICE.

The STAMPED REGISTER is now regularly published; and, therefore, it can be sent to any part of the Kingdom, postage free.

TO THE

EARL OF EGREMONT,

*On the Speech published, as having been made by him, at the Lewes Agricultural Distress Meeting, held on the 3d of Dec. 1821.*

*The Grove, near Holt, Norfolk,  
16 Dec. 1821.*

MY LORD,

You and your brother Legislators have made laws to punish with *banishment for life* any of us who may be guilty of the heinous offence of writing, printing, or publishing, any thing **TENDING** to bring either *house* of you into **CONTEMPT**. How the "*Right Honourable* and "*Honourable*" bodies came to suppose it probable; how the "Lords "Spiritual and Temporal and

" Commons, in Parliament assembled;" how these far-famed bodies; these bodies which form so essential a part of a constitution which is the "envy of surrounding nations, and the admiration of the world;" how they came, in the first place, to suspect that any one, who has the happiness to live under this constitution, might have the *disposition* to bring them into *contempt*; and, in the second place, how they came to suspect that any one, having the disposition, might have the *ability* to bring them into *contempt*; how they came to entertain these suspicions, is more than I can say. I am not, indeed, ignorant, that, from our very childhood, we have all a dislike to be laughed at.

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I remember going once bellowing and roaring towards my mother, and making such an outcry! She, alarmed at my noise, cried out, "What is the matter?" I answered: "Tom laughs at I." "What does he laugh at you for?" "Only because *I sucks my finger.*" "Well, then, my dear," said she, with a smile, patting my head at the same time, "*don't suck your finger any more.*" I dare say, however, that, if I had had the power to inflict punishment on Tom, I should have done it, instead of patiently bearing this sensible piece of advice.

But, in the present case, my Lord, it is not your "*house*" that I have to comment on; it is not on a *speech made in that house*; it is on a speech made by you in a room at an Inn; in short, it is not the *peer* (God forbid!) that I am about to make free with; but the *Chairman of an Agriculturass Meeting*. And not with you, even in that capacity, *positively*, but *conditionally*; that is to say, upon the supposition that what the

"Brighton Chronicle and Lewes Express," of the 5th of December, says, *be true*. In other words, I am about to make remarks on a publication, in the paper just mentioned, which publication is put forth under *your name*.

The Meeting, at which you presided, was called for the purpose of discussing the propriety of making an application to Parliament for the adoption of some measure for the relief of the farmers.

The proceedings ended by a resolution, not to *make such application*, but to *promulgate a statement*, presented and read to the Meeting by Mr. JOHN ELLMAN the younger, who is a farmer near Lewes. Of this statement the very best that one can say, is, that it is wholly uncalculated to do any good to the farmers; and, one may add, that, as far as a parcel of senseless stuff can do them harm, it is calculated to effect that end; because it must, as far as they listen to it, lead them to entertain a hope, that a corn-bill will, if passed, *afford them relief*:

a hope the most fallacious that ever was entertained by mortals.

In short, if ELLMAN had brought one of his old brood-geese, and set her up to *quaw, quaw, quack*, for fifteen minutes, it would have been full as useful to the farmers, and a great deal more entertaining.

Such was the *result* of this grand meeting, of which your Lordship was *Chairman*. But, contemptible and ridiculous as was the result, there were several *facts* and *opinions*, that came out in the way of *speech*, very well worthy of notice; not, however, on account of any intrinsic quality, but on account of their showing us the *description of notions that are running in the heads of the Landlords and Farmers*. Of these opinions those of your Lordship are certainly the most interesting, because they let us know what is passing in one peer's head, at any rate; and it is not unreasonable to suppose, that that which is passing in that head is not entirely unknown to other noble heads.

Before, however, I come to

these *opinions* of your Lordship, let me notice briefly, an *assertion* of yours relating to *myself*. Mr. BLACKMAN had ridiculed Webb Hall's and Ellman's nonsense about a corn bill, and had particularly pointed out that staringly foolish, or impudent, assertion of Mr. Hall, namely, that cash payments had had *nothing at all to do in the producing of low prices*. Mr. Blackman had further insisted, that the *money, the currency*, formed the far most important branch of the question; and he moved a resolution, including *this* important branch, but which resolution (because, I suppose, it must have been interesting to *men of sense*) the newspaper editor does not insert. The elder ELLMAN objected to this resolution as being of a *political nature*; and he expressed his wish that the Meeting should not *bear a political character*! Let me stop here to observe, not on the supreme folly of this, for that is obvious, but on the *curious turn* which a short time has given to things! ELLMAN

was, I dare say, thinking of the close resemblance between the character of this meeting and that of the starving people in Spafford in 1817. Therefore, he was for keeping a distinction if possible: he was anxious to avoid the imputation of "radicalism." To this, however, he must come at last; or, he will never see relief to the farmers.

In answer to this objection to ELLMAN, your Lordship said, that Mr. BLACKMAN's motion was certainly admissible; and, in answer to Mr. BLACKMAN himself, you defended the Ministers in their conduct as to *Peel's Bill*. But, here I must take your own words; or, at least, the words, imputed to you by the newspaper above mentioned. "He believed, that the adoption of the measure of resuming cash payments was forced upon the ministers by the voice of the people; that the measure was now decided upon; and, as the thing was done, he thought it impossible to remedy it; that it was a fact, that all

parties, in parliament and out of it, supported the measure; that Lords Grey and Lansdown did so as well as the Ministers; nay, Mr. Cobbett himself did so, and, what the devil more," said the Noble Earl, "would you have?" (*A laugh, and applause.*)

Now, my lord, this last assertion is not true. Your words mean, that I approved of the measure, in the same way, with the same view, that Lords Grey and Lansdown did. But, the fact is, that I approved of it (if it could be called approbation) for a reason precisely opposite to that of those Lords. They approved of it, because they thought, that it would produce cash-payments without producing any terrible shock to what is called "the practice of the constitution." I approved of it because I was convinced that it would produce such shock. I cannot be said to have approved of the measure at all; for, there is a great deal of difference between approving of a thing and wishing



that thing to take place. I wished the measure to be adopted, or any measure that would have the same tendency, namely, to overthrow the people's worst foes; but, I could not be said to approve of it, seeing that, even long before it was passed, I foretold how destructive it would be to many thousands of men and their families. Nay, the gridiron proves, that I never supported the measure. I said it never could be carried into effect. I say so still. But, I am glad the measure was adopted. If it had not, I should not have seen England for some years. When I saw that *Peel's Bill* was passed, I was no longer afraid of the pretty gentlemen. I knew that that Bill would physic them down in a short time. Upon this ground, and upon this ground expressly and distinctly, I expressed my pleasure at the passing of the Bill. When I landed at Liverpool, in November 1819, the "Houses" were just met, and the nation seemed terror-stricken, in momentary expectation of that "Thun-

der," which, as CASTLEREACH said, they had ready to pour out on the "disaffected." People said: 'You are come at a dangerous time.' "Oh, no!" said I. "There is *Peel's Bill*! That will save us at last, never fear, if we can but get along for a couple of years!"

Thus you see, then, my lord, I never said any thing, and, surely, I never did any thing, whence it could be inferred, that I regarded this Bill as a wise measure; and, indeed, I could no more be said to support it, than the farmer's wife can be said to support the depredations of the fox in the pursuit of which depredations he steals and swallows a ball of poison. She is glad that he came to take her hens, because in the enterprize he met his death. But, she cannot be said to have supported him in the depredation.

Neither, my lord, do you appear to me to be correct in your assertion as to the part acted by the people on this memorable occasion. There was not a single

*petition for the Bill*; and there was one *petition against it*: that, I mean of the Spinning-Jenny Baronet, father of the younger PEEL, who, they say, is to be Pitt No. 2. That "all parties in parliament" supported it is true enough; that the famous Houses passed it by *unanimous votes* is so far from being denied by me, that the fact is my *comfort*, my *pride*, my *glory*; because, the moment I (being then abroad) got the account of these unanimous votes, I hastened to put into print and to send to England to be published my positive assertion, that, without a reduction of the interest of the Debt, *the Bill never could be carried into effect*.

But, my lord, the *people*, the *public*, did not *force* the Ministers to do the deed, to play the trick, to turn the edge of the razor to the throat of the system. If they were *forced*, it was by those who *filled* the *seats*, and with them your Lordship is well acquainted. We must not let the seat-fillers shift out of the thing in this way. The

*people* had let their voice be heard often enough and loud enough; but they had never succeeded in *forcing* the pretty gentlemen at Whitehall and at Saint Stephens to do any thing; or to leave any thing undone. The people had prayed and supplicated often enough, and had received in return, not a granting of their prayer, but imprisonment and gagging bills. Therefore, let it be well understood, that *the people* not only did not *force* the pretty gentlemen to propose, or the "Collective Wisdom" to pass, this Bill; but, never opened their mouths upon the subject; and never even asked for those "imitable notes," the history of which will be matter for fun as long as men have muscles to laugh with. The whole of the project belongs to those who *fill* the *seats*; and though I rejoice that they adopted it, I am not to be looked upon as having been glad of it for the *reasons* for which it was adopted.

As your Lordship says, "the

thing is done;" but, you seem to be sorry that it is done; for, you can see no remedy for it! *Remedy!* Do I hear of a remedy being wanted for *Peel's Bill*; a bill passed by the unanimous vote of both Houses; a bill which CANNING said set the question at rest for ever; a bill which RICARDO said it was the easiest thing in the world to carry into execution; a bill founded on the evidence of Ricardo, Baring, and many other members of the Honorable of all Honorables; a bill built on the doctrines of *Hume*, *Audem Smeth*, and *Locke*; a bill lauded to the skies by the leaders of both factions and the writers of both factions; a bill, in short, which was the subject of a set eulogium delivered by the Speaker to the Regent in full parliament; do I hear, do I live to hear, do I, ye powers of Grub-street, ye gods that preside over ignorance and conceit, do I live to hear a remedy talked of for this Bill?

"As the thing is done." What, then, would you not do it; would

the seat-fillers not do it, if it were not done? "Jod's blood!" as my Botley farmer said; what, do they repent of that which repentance led them to do? They recanted their former errors when they passed the Bill. PEEL made a set recantation. Openly repented; did penance at the shrine of Saint Horner the Edinburgh Reviewer; and offered up atonement in the very Bill, the existence of which your Lordship seems now to lament! What, did they "even in penance plau sins anew!" Will they now come and recant again; and be again applauded for their "*frankness*" and their "*wisdom?*" Will they pass another Bill to set the subject at rest for ever? Will they have another parcel of "*evidence,*" and again call upon Hume, Audem Smeth, and Locke, to prove that the Bill is bad? Really, my Lord, I am afraid they will; or, rather, I think, they will; for, I fear nothing at all about the matter, knowing well that, do what they may, or, at least, what they

can, the result will be a reform of the parliament. But, I think, they will do something in the way of "*remedy*" for Peel's Bill!

Your lordship says, that you do not think, that this is possible. But, you do not say, that it will not be attempted. And, that is all, for this winter, that I want to see! I think, that, when the parliament meets, the Bank will be restrained again from issuing gold, except in bars; that those bars will be made heavier; that they will be made of higher price per ounce of gold; that the day of actual resumption will be put off from May 1823 to May 1825. I think we shall see all, or a part, of this. Any part, except the first, is a repeal of *Peel's Bill*; and, then, I hold the feast of the Gridiron; and I will put you down, my lord, amongst the persons to be invited to it, to grace my triumph of that day; and, if you please, you may bring any friend of yours; but neither of your noble relations who have sat posts in the West India Islands.

I now, my lord, come to your speech. I may observe, that it is rather irregular for a Chairman to take part in the debates; but, thus it was upon this occasion. I shall take the words of your speech, as I find them reported in the newspaper; and then remark on the several parts that appear to me to be most worthy of attention. I beg the public to read this speech with attention.

Lord Egremont thought that a County Meeting would be of little utility, unless some one should be prepared with a specific proposition. He had heard gentlemen say various things, all, however, inapplicable to all parts of the country. In some places the poor-rates had been diminished, and when the case was different, it was, he felt persuaded, owing to local causes. One cause was an increase of population, which had, within the last ten years, been very great. If a County Meeting should be convened, it would, he presumed, be with the view of petitioning Parliament; and then, in all probability, we should witness the same result as we had seen last year. He could not forbear saying that a mass of more contradictory, of more frequently refuted evidence than was then



presented to Parliament, had never fallen within his observation. For himself, he was ready, (and so he was sure were a great many other gentlemen,) to devote himself entirely to the investigation of this important and intricate question. He confessed that he was at a loss to say, what was the real cause of the present distress. It arose, doubtless, from a combination of causes, and he did not think it was in the power of any gentleman to point out a remedy. Still it was right to discuss and investigate the subject.—His Lordship then stated that in Yorkshire, where he had a considerable estate, and where the population has increased as much as in Sussex, he was informed by his agent that the poor-rates were not more than seven-pence in the pound; and that the distress was far from being general or severe. He was persuaded that the amount of the rates was attributable to the low price of corn. He felt anxious to know whether in the East of Sussex, with an increase of population, there had been a falling off in cultivation. For the last year and a half he was persuaded there had been something peculiarly distressing in that district. One important point which had been little mentioned on the present occasion was the low price of corn. The question was, did such low prices arise from the importation of foreign corn?—His Lordship

firmly believed that, for the last two years, there had been little competition.—His own opinion was, that the present difficulties were caused by a too hasty attempt to alter the currency; for it could scarcely be supposed that a system which had been the work of twenty years, could be without inconvenience suddenly abolished. He took shame to himself for having voted in Parliament in favour of the abolition of the Property Tax; since he was now persuaded that, on a modified scale, it would be the most salutary measure that could be adopted. Every man, however, who mixed in public affairs, would often do things which he would afterwards be compelled to regret. It was said by many, that the debt of the country was a great evil; yet none could say that it was a loss to the nation: on the contrary, it was but the transfer of property from one class of the community to another.—In his opinion, it was a mine of wealth; and he was persuaded much evil would result, if a reduction of the debt should take place. For himself, his Lordship said that he had not, nor would he ever have, one farthing in the funds, and, therefore, in what he had stated, he could of course be influenced by no personal feeling. He must say that he thought the funds a sort of bank, in which all might take refuge; and that we should find ourselves much poorer

without them. He had, during a life of 70 years, witnessed many *and various revolutions*; and he must say that any one who could bring himself now *to speak confidently on the subject*, must be of a very different frame of mind from his own. He thought that before a County Meeting should be decided upon, the measure ought to receive the most careful consideration.

This is a strange jumble my lord! What had "*revolution*" to do with the matter which was before the meeting! Do you suppose, that a *revolution* must be the effect of a *reduction of the interest of the Debt*? Faith! if that be the case, it is time for you to look out sharply; for a reduction of it will come in spite of all you can say and do. But, what of *revolution*? You do not speak *confidently* on the subject; that is to say, I suppose, you do not mean to say, that a *revolution* is, in itself, *so very bad a thing*; seeing, I suppose, that America, France, Spain, Portugal, and South America have *gained* so much by their revolutions, and that we ourselves had once "a glo-

*rious revolution*," your Lordship cannot bring yourself to speak *confidently* on the subject. I will, then, observe, that it depends, in my opinion, upon *whom the Debt shall be reduced by*, whether the reduction will bring on a revolution. If reduced by a *reformed Parliament*, I think there is not even the most distant danger of what is called a revolution. But, if reduced, or attempted to be reduced, by an *unreformed Parliament*, I think that a revolution, or, at least, a dreadful convulsion, may be expected as the natural consequence.

But, it seems, your Lordship does not wish to see the Debt reduced. Why, then, do you support the thing called the *sinking fund*? You can see *no evil* in the Debt! You can see in it only the *transfer of property from one class of the community to another*. Very true; but, in some cases, it takes the bread from the *labourer* and gives it to the *idler*. And, is this *no evil*? You think the Debt "*a mine of wealth*!" There

spoke Monsieur De Snip! There spoke Judge Bailey! There spoke "Collective Wisdom!" Then we are the richest nation in the world; nay, more rich than all others put together, for we have a mine with *eight hundred to a thousand millions in it*, and this is more than have ever yet been drawn from the bowels of the earth. *It is more than there is of gold and silver in the whole world!* It is not for me to comment on opinions like these: to put them upon record will be quite sufficient for the present. When I take to the writing of farces I may work them in.

Your Lordship thinks, that the *too-hasty* return to cash-payments has been the principal cause of the "*distress*." My Lord, do you know, that, by May 1823, it will have been *ten years* after the time appointed by the *Anti-jacobin* law! Is this *too hasty* for your Lordship? But, do you think, that, by advancing *slower*, the distress would have been prevented? You take *shame to yourself* for

having voted for the abolition of the *property tax*. If you were to take a little *shame to yourself* for not having read *Paper against Gold*, and "*Two-penny Trash*," and especially the *Letter to Tierney*, it would become you much better. You appear to me to be ashamed of your merits, and to have no shame for your neglects.

If you had read those works, you could not have uttered the words contained in this speech, let your head be made of what it may. *Paper against Gold* would have proved to you, that *Debt* is not riches; that *the funds* are not money; and, the *Letter to Tierney* would have proved to you, that to return *by slow degrees*, to cash payments, is only coming *to ruin and convulsion by slow degrees*, and that the *end* must still be the same, unless the interest of the Debt be reduced. If you had read the "*Two-penny Trashes*" on Peel's Bill (written while I was abroad,) you would have been prepared for all that has now come, and for all that is coming.

1495

TO THE EARL OF EGREMONT.

1496

The difficulties of the pretty gentlemen and of the *seat-fillers* might all have been avoided, if they had read these works and attended to the advice they contain. They have chosen another course; and, be the consequences on their heads.

"A property tax" is now the order of the day, is it? What, then, do you mean to reach the *fundlord* in this way? If you tax him more than yourself, you will reach him; and then we have our *feast of the Gridiron*; for that is a *reduction of the interest of the Debt*. If you tax the fundholders, amongst whom, observe, are the *widows, orphans, friendly-society men, and saving-banks* fools; if you tax these more than you tax the farmer and landlord, then you *reduce the interest of the Debt*. If you tax them no more than you tax yourselves, they gain by the tax! They gain in additional security; and they take away a part of your rents in the way of deduction. It will be *deduction for deduction; bilk for*

*bilk*; but, they will gain and you will lose by the tax.

The only remaining topic of your Lordship's speech, the *poor rates*, is the most important of all. You ascribe their great amount, in part, to an *increase of population*; but, what makes you believe in such increase? The books published by the Houses? Faith! I must have something other than that to make me believe in it. I do not believe, that, taking the kingdom throughout, there has been any increase at all; for which, did the occasion demand it, I could give reasons sufficient to satisfy any rational man. But, supposing the fact; why should an increase of persons increase the amount of the poor rates, except in a very trifling degree? In Queen Anne's reign the poor rates did not exceed a quarter of a million. They now exceed eight millions. Have we thirty-two times as many people as we had in the reign of that glorious Queen? If the number of people increase, does not the fruit



of their labour increase in the same proportion? Why, then, should

the increase of population be the cause of such enormous poor rates! The fact is, that there has been but very little increase of population, but a vast increase of idlers; a vast increase of those who live upon the labour of others; who take so largely from the fruit of labour, that the labourer is reduced to a state which compels him to resort to the parish. Taxation co-operating, with a paper money system; this is the cause, and the only cause, of the increase of the poor rates.

It is curious enough, that, while, in one part of your speech, you ascribe the increase of poor rates to the increase of the population, you, in another part of this same speech, tell us, that you think the pressure of the poor rates to be local, (you mean partial); for that, in Yorkshire, where you have an estate, and where the population has equally increased, the poor rates have fallen to seven pence in the pound! It is curious enough,

then, that you should ascribe the increase of the poor rates in Sussex to an increase of the population. If this is the sort of matter that we are to hear from those who are *born* legislators, what are we to expect from those who are chosen by the single-hearted youths of Honiton, Grampond and the like?

Besides, let us hear the famous authors of the famous *Agricultural report*. What do they say about the effects of an increase of population? Why, in paragraph 54 of the Report, they expressly state it to be one of the grounds of security for the lasting prosperity of both tenant and landlord! Thus, then, either they are wrong, or you are wrong; or, rather, you are wrong when you regard the increase of population as an evil, or they are wrong when they consider it to be a source of wealth! Who of you is right, or who is wrong, does not signify a straw. It is all confusion; and from it nothing but confusion can come.

This "*increase of population*," this "*surplus population*," of which *Malthus, Brougham, Scarlett* and the *Edinburgh Reviewers* talk everlastingly, and on the basis of which they have wanted to see passed a law to *check* marrying amongst the *working* classes; though they seem to have no wish to *check* the increase of those *who live on the fruit of the labour of those classes*; this "*surplus population*," this *surplus of mouths* was a pretty thing to talk of, as a cause of *want*, at a Meeting held for the purpose of devising a *remedy for the cheapness of food*! It is a thing such as never was heard of before in the world, and such as never will be heard of in the world any more; that is to say, after this fit of national madness is gone off. We have got *too much food* and *too many mouths*! Why, my lord, when such things can be *said*, even in a *mad-house*, it is a sure sign, that the state of things in the country is such as must be *radically changed*. And, be you assured,

that the state of things here *must* be radically changed; and, in the manner, too, which, in my next Register, I shall point out to *Lord Grey*.

I should here stop; but, at this Meeting, there were some facts stated, relative to the treatment of the *labourers* in Sussex, that I cannot omit to notice. "*MARTIN*," said, he had been informed by "*Mr. Marshall*, that in his parish, there were one hundred "*paupers out of employ*. To so high a pitch indeed had things "*proceeded*, in consequence of "*the poverty and dissatisfaction of the poor*, that *the overseers were threatened, and actually considered themselves in danger*. "*He left the meeting from this to judge what must be the situation of the parish*. He scarcely knew if he were authorized in stating what he had been told by *Mr. Marshall*, namely, that "*so enormous were the poor-rates as to determine him to dispose of his estate, finding that they absolutely consumed it up*."

Here the *fault* is laid at the door of the *labourers*. But, let us hear what the younger ELLMAN said: "He had seen them employed in *drawing beach gravel*, as had been already described. "One of them, the *leader*, worked with A BELL ABOUT HIS NECK." Oh! the *envy* of surrounding nations and admiration of the world! Oh! what a "glorious Constitution"! Oh! what a happy country! Impudent Radicals, to want to *reform* a parliament, under which men enjoy such blessings!

On such a subject it is impossible (under *Six-Acts*) to trust one's pen! However, this I will say; that here is much more than enough to make me *rejoice in the ruin of the farmers*; and I do, with all my heart, thank God for it; seeing, that it appears absolutely necessary, that the present race of them should be totally broken up, in Sussex at any rate, in order to put an end to this cruelty and insolence towards the labourers, who are by far the

greater number; and who are men, and a little better men too, than such employers as these, who are, in fact, monsters in human shape!

Is it, then, any wonder, that the dissatisfaction of the poor should be so great, that the overseers were threatened, and actually considered themselves in danger?

In danger! How should they be otherwise than in danger! Does any one think, that men are, for any length of time, going to endure this sort of treatment! The labourers know as well as I do, that, if they be unable to obtain bread for work, they have a RIGHT to it without work; they know, that, by means of the *parish scale*, they have been suffering, for years, under a deduction from their wages; they know that the single man has been kept down in his wages by this means co-operating with those of depreciated paper; they know that the farmers, landlords and parsons gained what they lost by that depreciation. They know all these

things well; and, besides, common sense, a feeling common to all men, nay, instinct, tells them, that men, willing and able to work, are not to perish with hunger in their native country abounding with food. They never can be made to believe, that God so ordained things, that men, knowing no offence, obeying the laws, able to till the land, willing to do it, are to be told, that they are to have none of the land; that they are to have none of its fruits for working on it; and that they are to have none of these fruits without working on it. They are called out to serve in the militia; to defend the land and its fruits at the risk of their lives; and, can they believe, that they are not entitled to a fair share of its produce, when they are ready to work on that land! Shall the owners tell them, "You shall have none of the land"? Shall the farmers tell them, "You shall not work on it." And, then, shall both tell them: "You shall have nothing but what you earn"? And

shall they be told, at the same time, that they shall be compelled to become soldiers in order to defend this land!

MR. MARTIN said, that Mr. MARSHALL was about to dispose of his estate, finding that the poor absolutely consumed it. Dispose of it! How? Nobody will buy it, of course. Will he give it to me, then? Or would it not be better to give it to the poor at once! They would find an use for it, I warrant them. However, this is nonsense, and Mr. Marshall was in a silly spiteful passion, when he said this. A like kind of feeling it was that put the bell round the poor labourer's neck. Spite against the innocent on account of distress inflicted by others; and arising, in fact, from the baseness of the farmers themselves in not having long ago taken the obvious and only means of preventing their present calamities. It is very base thus to vent their rage on those who are unable to resist their power. It is as base as the conduct of the husband, who, when



his affairs are deranged, becomes morose and brutal towards his wife and family. However, instances of the horrid kind above described are rare, and will soon be at an end, in spite of all that the farmers can do; for, the *present race of farmers* will soon *disappear!*

But, another word with Mr. MARSHALL, whose estate is "*absolutely consumed*" by the poor. Does Mr. MARSHALL not know, that the poor do not receive the *house and window tax*; that they do not receive the *land tax*; that they do not receive the *tithes*; that they do not receive the *highway*, the *turnpike* (now doubled), the *church*, taxes; that they do not receive the tax on his *iron*, *leather*, *salt*, *soap*, *candles*, *malt*, and other things; that they do, in *fact*, receive but a *part* of the *wages* and *rates* he pays, for that these *go away*, in great part, in tax on salt, soap, candles, shoes, tea, sugar, tobacco, and beer; and are only received from him by them to be paid to the tax-gatherer,

who carries them to the pretty gentlemen at Whitehall, who hand them over to the army, the royal academy, the placemen, pensioners, grantees, sinecur-men, police-people, commissioners, and God knows who besides, by no means forgetting the *fundholders*? Does Mr. MARSHALL not know all this? If he do not, he must be a very shallow man; and, if he do know it, how unjust it is in him to say that the *poor* consume his estate! The truth is, I dare say, Mr. MARSHALL knows all this very well. But he finds it more *easy*, or, rather, more *safe*, to rail against the poor, than to rail against the pretty gentlemen at Whitehall, or against those who occasionally launch forth "*the thunder of parliament*."

This is a particular instance; I mean that mentioned as existing in the eastern part of Sussex; for I am certain, and, indeed, the *proof* is always at hand, that the labourer's lot is greatly improved by the *cheapness*. In London we do not see *one beggar now for ten*

*that we saw two years ago.* This is remarked by every body. But, in such a case, the *reason of the case* contains the best proof. In Kent I found the weekly wages of the farmer's man from 11s. to 13s. In Berkshire from 9s. to 10s. In Hampshire from 8s. to 10s. In Oxfordshire the same. In Herefordshire from 8s. to 9s. The same in Gloucestershire; but, in these two counties the men are allowed three quarts of cider, or two quarts of beer, a day, in addition. In Norfolk the wages are from 8s. to 9s. In Suffolk and Essex, probably a little higher. Now, it is notorious, that the men never got, upon an average, more than a *third* more wages than they get now. Wheat and meat have fallen nearly *two thirds* in price. Therefore the labourer *must be better off than he was.*

It is said, "Yes; those who *can* get work are; but, they have not all of them *employment*;" and, then, it is added, that these *come to the parish book*, and "are worse off than they were before."

This is very *unaccountable*; and, therefore, we are not, without inquiry, bound to believe it. How comes it, that the wages are not reduced *lower* than they are? Because *men are not to be found to work for less.* That is, and must be, the cause, and the only cause. There are many, in some places, *out of employment*; but, still, they will not work, *really work*, for *less wages* than have been stated above. Those who are upon the parish do, in fact, no *work*. Bells or whips, or what you will, they will not *work* for the parish allowance. You may push things on to the state *in which they are in Ireland*; but, men on the parish will not *work*.

It is *possible*, by a combination of all the farmers in a parish, to reduce *wages* to next to nothing. They have done that in a parish in Suffolk, where the parson wanted to raise his tithes from fourteen hundred to sixteen hundred a year. The farmers gave their men but *sixpence a day*, and paid them the rest in *poor-rates*. This brought

the rates upon the tithes in such a way as to reduce the parson's clear income from 1,400*l.* a year to about 200*l.* a year! The priest found himself *tackled* here. He paid, of course, about *a fifth part of the wages of the whole parish*; and this, to be sure, is what, in all cases, he ought to do, seeing that he gets a tenth part of *the crop*, without paying either rent or taxes or expences of stock and of purchased manure.

This is a good and *most effectual* way of *tackling a parson*; but, no combination will do against the labourers; for, you want *work* done; and, do what you will, you can get only *so much work for so much food*. Farmers sending men to work on the *roads* is merely cutting their noses off to spite their faces. This is the true *hole-digging* economy. And, let me ask, what a system that must be which induces the farmers to pay men *for doing what is of no use*, because they *are unable to pay them for doing things of use*! Good God! Was such a thing ever

heard of before, since the world began! How the system labours! How she struggles and plunges! How the big drops, drawn forth by fear, roll down her forehead, as I once saw them roll down from that of a detected robber and traitor!

Combinations, my lord, against labourers are wholly useless. They must and will have *food*; and the farmers have their choice, whether they will give the food in *exchange for labour*, or give it for *nothing*. This is their only choice; for, as to *Scarlett's plan*, it would only produce the *scenes that are now exhibited in Ireland*. The farmers in Sussex have had, it seems, a *hint* of this in the conduct of the labourers mentioned by Mr. MARTIN. At the BRIGHTON BENCH of Magistrates, too, a pretty transaction took place, as recorded in this same Lewes Newspaper. This paper states, that 19 men made application to the Bench for relief. It will be useless to go into the particulars of the story. I shall, however,

quote what the justices are reported to have said to the men.

One of these justices was a *Sir David Scott* (a relation, I believe, of your lordship;) and, another, a man named *Ironmonger*. A man named *Chassereau* had, it seems, complained of the men, who had been employed by him as *paupers*; whom he had, at first refused to pay; who had upon that, *abused him in words*; whom he, at last, paid; and whose abuse he now *complained of*.

Now, my lord, let me call your attention to the words of the Justices. "The Bench, on hearing this, *regretted extremely* that "Mr. Chassereau had been induced to comply with demands "urged in so insolent and outrageous a manner. It seemed "to be the object of these men "not to solicit, but to demand "relief; and though the Magistrates would ever be most ready "to attend to the wants and complaints of the poor; yet, on the "other hand, *force would as constantly be met by force*; and

"they might be assured that, in "whatsoever numbers they should "collect, the power of the laws "would prove greater than their "own. In the present instance, "Mr. Chassereau had treated "them with *too great forbearance*; "and the Bench lamented much "that he had not summoned the "Police to quell the riot. However great might have been "the numbers of the mob, the "civil power would have been "strong enough to repel them; or "even should it have failed, the "Military could have been called "in, and with *two regiments in the town*, it would be strange "indeed if the authorities could "not repress any tumult that "might arise. For his own part, (observed Sir D. Scott,) rather "than yield to such manifestations "of violence, he would collect all "the troops in the County to resist it."

If I had been one of the men I would have answered "Sir David" thus: "Worshipful Sir, "David, what do you think of



"discharging the 'Police' and  
 "the 'two régiments,' and of  
 "applying their pay (which is  
 "now partly taken from us) to  
 "make an addition to our wages  
 "and our food? Would not  
 "this, Sir David, be a more ra-  
 "tional way of conserving the  
 "peace, than that of causing force  
 "to be met by force?" I do  
 not know what reply the Knight  
 would have made, but I guess he  
 would have been puzzled. Even  
 the pauper-pay of these men goes  
 in part, in taxes to pay the "po-  
 lice" and the army. Take the  
 pay from these; let them work,  
 and the pauper will have more  
 food left for himself. It is the  
 taxes which cause the pauperism;  
 and the police and the army assist  
 to make the taxes.

Justice IRONMONGER took the  
 poor fellows in another quarter:  
 "He," says the paper, "*Lectured*  
 "the nineteen men *severely*, and  
 "pointed out in terms which we  
 "hope will long prove serviceable  
 "to them, the consequences of  
 "their blameable improvidence.

"Accustomed to habits of idleness  
 "and drunkenness, they spent  
 "without care the earnings of the  
 "summer; and in winter, their  
 "destitute families became a bur-  
 "den to the parish. He (Mr. I.)  
 "would venture to say, that not  
 "one of the individuals before the  
 "Bench had thought, during the  
 "summer, of enrolling his name  
 "as a subscriber to the *Provident*  
 "*Institution*. Had they done so,  
 "they would, instead of being  
 "without support, at this mo-  
 "ment, have been receiving ade-  
 "quate relief: for the small con-  
 "tribution of 1s. 6d. per week, at  
 "a period when they would have  
 "been well able to deprive them-  
 "selves of so trifling a sum, would  
 "now have entitled them to a re-  
 "turn of 8s. 6d. weekly. Instead,  
 "however, of this, they had cho-  
 "sen to waste their earnings; and  
 "now, at the approach of winter,  
 "without hesitation had recourse  
 "to the parochial funds."

If I had been one of the men,  
 this would have been my answer  
 to Justice Ironmonger: "Justice

“Ironmonger, my forefathers were  
 “not paupers, and yet nobody, in  
 “their day, had the face to inter-  
 “fere with them as to the disposal  
 “of their summer earnings. They  
 “never heard of such things as  
 “‘savings-banks’ and ‘provi-  
 “dent institutions.’ They were  
 “never called upon to ‘subscribe’  
 “to any thing; but, found in their  
 “wages the means of decent liv-  
 “ing; the means of securing a  
 “warm back and a full belly. If  
 “they earned more in summer  
 “than in winter, they lived better  
 “during the season of hard work;  
 “and, they expended the *surplus*  
 “in articles of ornament for their  
 “wives and daughters; never sus-  
 “pecting, that the winter was to  
 “be a season of *distress*. They  
 “spent, and had a right to spend,  
 “some part of their time at *fairs*  
 “and other scenes of pastime;  
 “and, we should think it no harm  
 “to do that now, when we read of  
 “so many *grand dinners, routs,*  
 “*balls and masquerades,* giving by  
 “persons, who notoriously do not  
 “work at all, and some of whom

“live on those taxes, which we  
 “pay on our *shoes, hats, beer,*  
 “*malt, soap, candles, sugar, tea,*  
 “*tobacco, salt,* and many other  
 “things.”

No man appears to have *said*  
 this to Justice Ironmonger; but,  
 the Justice may be very well as-  
 sured, that every man of the nine-  
 teen *thought it*. Those thoughts  
 no “lecturing” will ever get out  
 of their minds. The thoughts are  
 founded in *nature*; and are never to  
 be driven out of the head. If when  
 the labourer is bidden to look back  
 to the time when his great grand-  
 father, though his wages were only  
*six shillings a week, scorned* the  
 idea of asking parish relief, he  
 does look back, he finds, that  
 his great grandfather bought a  
 pair of shoes for 3s., a bushel of  
 wheat for 3s. (nine or ten gallons  
 to the bushel,) a pound of meat  
 for *two-pence*; a pound of candles  
 for *three-pence*, and so on; and  
 that, into the bargain, his great  
 grandfather knew nothing of being  
 forced to serve in the *militia*!  
 His great grandfather never heard

of Royal Military Academies; of a standing army in time of peace of nearly a hundred thousand men; of a Civil List such as we now behold; of Secret-Service money so enormous in amount; of 100,000*l.* a year granted out of the taxes to relieve the "poor Clergy" of the Church of England; and, the labouring man, while he sees grants like the last-mentioned, can find no resemblance in this state of things, and that in which his great grandfather lived.

Thus, then, my Lord, you must, I think, see, that all efforts to *patch this system up* are wholly useless; and that, as to the *present race of farmers*, their ruin is certain, unless they instantly abandon their farms, or obtain a reduction of rent so as to bring every hundred pounds down to *forty pounds*. Your Lordship said, that *you* had not called in your *Michaelmas rents*, and you seem to have recommended this to other landlords, as being likely to produce *great benefit!* What benefit? If the rent be to be *paid at last*, what benefit can result to the man who has to pay? And, as to a *reduction of rent*, it can produce no good, unless it bring the rent down to *a third*, or thereabouts, of what it is at present.

The newspapers have told us of a large reduction, which Mr. COKE of Norfolk has made in his rents. I have heard of *no such reduction* made by Mr. COKE. I am now writing at no great distance from his estate; in short, I *know*, as well as I can know any thing of which I have not positive proof, that *he has not reduced his rents*. But, I do hear of *two of his greatest tenants who are just become bankrupt*, with a prospect of paying but a very few shillings in the pound! And, here we have another proof of the falseness and baseness of the *newspapers*. They have bleated it, or, rather, *brayed* it, all over the kingdom, that Mr. COKE has *abated*, or taken off, *twenty thousand pounds of his rents this year!* This lie has done great mischief. It has encouraged farmers in general to *hope*; and hope is now the sure cause of their utter ruin.

Now, my Lord, if *here*, under so good a landlord, and with such skill in their affairs, such tenants fail, what are we to expect *elsewhere?* In short, the whole thing is going to pieces *of its own accord*. It wants no Radicals, or Jacobins, to break it up. It is break-

ing itself up. It is useless for Mr. LAMBE to say, that the "complaints now come from men, who came cheerfully forward to support the war." WE, my Lord, only laugh at such observations, and bid the complainants remember what WE predicted as to the result. And, as to those to whom their complaints are addressed, it is not in their power to afford them relief; because, without a reduction of the interest of the Debt no relief can be given; and we think we know, that, without a reform of the parliament, that reduction can never take place. "The farmers," as Mr. BLACKMAN well observed, "must, in order to understand their case, follow different leaders from those to whom they have hitherto attended. They must plough deep, make their brains clear, and fallow for the reception of better seed."

In conclusion, my Lord, let me advert for a moment to what your Lordship was pleased to say of my supporting of Peel's Bill. I do support it as far as I am able; for, I know, that, whether enforced or repealed, it will save, and finally deliver, this nation. It has already done wonders. It has converted more than half the mid-

dle classes to that very "radicalism," which insolent and tyrannical villains deemed a crime. Those who have been most perverse, most base, most callous, now proclaim aloud, that the interest of the Debt must be reduced! They now listen; they now look down upon the ground; their fierceness is all gone. They, who were ridiculing me and my prophecies, now wish they had attended to me. It has happened to me to see many, and to hear of hundreds of, individuals, who have, within these two months, said, that they wished they had seen the Register a year or two ago!

What, then, do I in particular, not owe to Peel's Bill! It was the most opportune, the most lucky thing, that ever happened. JACK, in the Tale of a Tub, did not think more of his father's will, than I think of this precious document. I praise it at my up-rising and at my down-lying; and, if I were a real poet, I would sing it in immortal verse. Not being in this way, I hereby offer five pounds to any one that will put the whole transaction into decent rhyme. I have been hammering my own brains trying to beat an epic poem out of them on the subject.



"Old Cobbett's Trash," to boroughs direful spring  
Of woes unnumber'd, heav'nly Goddess sing!

That Trash which first from Botley show'd the day;

Which through a prison's gratings shed its ray;

Which 'cross the raging ocean found its way!

That Trash which gaping Doctor swore was read

In ev'ry village, hamlet, cot and shed;

To stop the ills of which each scheme must fail,

Except the means to cram us all in jail!

Sing, Goddess, how the mighty "Thund'ers" shook;

Sing how preventive means they swiftly took.

Sing, Goddess, how the Landlords, Farmers, Parsons, feel

From "healthy currency" and Bill of Peel!

You see, my lord, I cannot get on in spite of my plagiarism at the out-set. I am like a goose that has stolen one wing from an Eagle. I would, however, prefer, if any one will furnish me with it, a poem in what I call *snip-snap rhyme*, which is a great deal more to my taste; thus:

Goddess of Grub-street! condescend  
Of infant Muse to stand the friend!

O, teach her to relate the woes,

The wasting pangs, the racking throes,

Inflicted by "Old Cobbett's Trash"

To make an Aged Lady smash!

Teach her, Goddess, how to tell

The way the mighty "Thund'ers" fell

To work to stop the growing ill

By thunderbolt they call a Bill.

Teach her of "healthy currency"

The praise to bear above the sky;

And give her strength and make her bold

Each time her theme is precious gold.

Teach her, Goddess, how to raise

Her infant voice in lofty lays,

When vain her zeal would crown with bays

Ricardo, Baring, Canning, Peel,

Whose workings make e'en parsons feel,

While farmers fall and landlords reel.

In short, my Lord, I hereby offer *five sovereigns*, to any one who will, in this *sort of way*, only *better*, put Peel's Bill into rhyme; and this is, I think, quite sufficient to prove my approbation of, or, rather, my *joy at*, that measure. I want to have the thing in *rhyme*. We have said about it enough in prose. It is, however, a copious subject; and, in fact, it is only *beginning to work*, even yet.

I now take my leave of your Lordship with this observation; that, in 1780, when the Duke of Richmond brought in his bill (which contains all that Radicals want,) it would have been better for the seat-people to reform the House of Commons, than to put it off to 1793; that it would have been better for them to do it in 1793, than to put it off to 1817; that it would have been better for them to do it in 1817, than to put

it off to *this time*; and that it would be beyond all comparison better for them to do it *now*, than to put it off *even until next year*! We shall, perhaps, have Mr. CANNING telling us again, that a radical reform is "*revolution and confiscation*." This is precisely the contrary of the truth. But, what is that which we see *going on now*? What does he call *this*? Your Lordship calls it a "*transfer of property*;" and what is *that*? Does any revolution, or confiscation, do *more than transfer property from one set of men to another*? A revolution might do this; but it could do no *more* than this. Nor, could a revolution do the thing more *quickly* than it is now doing. Many hundreds of men, worth from ten to twenty thousand pounds two years ago, are not now worth a farthing. What can be quicker, and what can be so complete? It is for LORD GREY, that I reserve, in my next, the showing of the *only way* in which this revolution can be *put a stop to*.

I am,

Your Lordship's most obedient

and most humble Servant,

WM. COBBETT.

TO THE  
MONEY-HOARDERS.

MY GOOD FRIENDS,

EVERY thing I see, or hear of, tends to confirm me in the opinion expressed in my last, namely, that, when the "Grand Council of the Nation" meets, there will be some measure adopted for putting a stop to the further issue of coin for the present! So, look about you! You know, that the Bank *may* stop this issue whenever she *pleases*; but, females are *coy*, and, to save appearances, want a little *violence* practised on them under critical circumstances; and, that this Lady's circumstances are *now* critical all the world must, I think, agree.

In the meanwhile, prices have verified, *fully verified*, my spring *prophesies*. Wheat is selling here (Norfolk) at *four shillings a bushel* oftener than at *five shillings*; barley at from *fifteen pence to two shillings a bushel*; oats from *nine pence to eighteen pence a bushel*. Why, to pay *any rent at all* with these prices is impossible, while the present taxes exist. Nay, the tithes, where there is a composition, cannot be paid; except out of money which the farmer may have in the funds or on mortgage,

or in hoard. This county is far from being the *lowest* as to prices ; so that *here they are*, farmers, tenants and parsons, all "in a *pretty mess!*"

This is just what *I foretold* in my *Letter to Tierney*, written in America in July 1818, and published in England in the following September. So that the "*Collective Wisdom*" did the thing with their eyes open ; or, at least, they must, if blind, have been *wilfully blind*. However, this I will say, that I verily believe, that, for *many years past*, there have been a very great majority of the men *in power* ; I mean not the Ministers only, but all others, who would, in all cases, rather *see any thing happen* than see the happiest results from following *my advice*. This has been the feeling, too, of the main body of the Landlords, Farmers, and Parsons, whether with power or without power ; and, therefore, they are entitled to no compassion *from me*.

In this *Letter to Tierney* I, at the outset, tell that *veteran* place-hunter, that I address the Letter to *him* in order to give it a *name*, that it may be distinguished from other essays, on the same subject ; and, that I put my thoughts down deliberately *before any cash payment project be adopted*, in order

that I may be *proved to be wrong*, if I am wrong, and that my reputation for knowledge may stand, or fall, by what *I am thus foretelling*. The "*Collective Wisdom*" must have seen this Letter before they did the deed ; for, they did not pass Peel's Bill 'till the *spring of 1819*. So that they have, in this case, no excuse on the score of *want of information*. I shall immediately publish a *new edition of this Letter to Tierney*, which has already been re-published seven or eight times. I shall put it in a small compass, and sell it cheap, putting some *notes* to it at the same time. This is a thing which I will incessantly hold up in the face of my once insolent and brutal and now chop-fallen foes.

In the meanwhile, my friends, look a little at the picture that this country now presents ? Beggared Merchants and Manufacturers have been often seen. Their callings are of an uncertain character, and are confined as to locality ; but farmers (Good God !) did ever man before hear of a *nation of beggared farmers!* ARTHUR YOUNG relates, with indignation the ruin of *two or three thousand* farmers in Languedoc by a tyrannical act of one of our friends, the Bourbons. But, here is a whole

nation of farmers ruined! Look at the *Landlords!* Look at the *Parsons!* The *reductions* of rents and tithes, that we read of in the newspapers, are a mere *mockery*. The lands must be *given up* to the landlords; the parsons must *gather* their tithes; or, the rents must come down from a *hundred* to *forty*, and the tithes still lower. The parsons' wives will have something else to do than to spy about after "seditious and blasphemous" publications, and to rate and scold tradesmen for reading "Cobbett."

But, what will be the effect of all this upon *you*? Why to make you hoard even the *farthings*, to be sure; and, the pretty gentlemen have, just in time, put out a *large coinage of farthings* in order to meet the exigencies of the case! Oh! they are wonderfully *provident* and pretty gentlemen! The grand question, however, at present, is, will any attempt be made to *repeat Peel's Bill*? I think, that the Old Lady will be "*restrained*" again as to her issue of *coin*. The case, you know, stands thus: Peel's Bill compelled her to begin, on the 1st of May last, to pay in bars at 77s. 10½d. an ounce; that is to say, in bars of gold at the Mint price. But, the bill, (the blessed bill!) provided, that, *if she paid*

*in coin of standard value*, then she need not pay in bars. She was to be at liberty to pay in coin in May, 1822; but, she *chose* to begin last May; and, therefore, as long as she pay in coin, she is exempted from paying in bars. But, if she *cease to pay in coin* (which she may when she pleases) then she must pay in bars; and a great deal of trade she will have in this line!

Therefore, it is *useless* for her to cease to pay in coin, unless a change be made in the price of the bars; and that cannot be done *without repealing Peel's Bill*. Will they do this? Will they do this thing? It would do the system no good. It would add to the confusion and render the ruin more complete if possible. Even the *stoppage of coin-payments* would give the system another *souse* and make it stagger again. But, to repeal Peel's Bill! It would be such a scandalous, such a disgraceful, such an *infamous* act, that it is almost "*sedition and blasphemy*" to suppose the prettiest gentlemen, the very prettiest that this world contains, capable of proposing it; and an assemblage of "*Thunderers*," capable of entertaining so contemptible, so vile, so base, so odious, so unnatural, so abominable a proposition.



"Well, then," say the landlords, parsons and farmers, "but, what are *we* to do?" *Do?* why, do as the soldier does at the halberts, "*grin and bear it.*" You, like *Dives*, have had your good times; let *Lazarus* have his. Look at the Radicals; look them *in the face* if you can. Think of your treatment of them. Do you deserve any compassion at their hands? You now begin to talk of *reducing the interest of the debt!* This is now your common cry. You have found out, that the fundholder is "*an all-devouring monster.*" Now, then, hear me: *one of the charges against the Radicals*; one of the charges stated in the *Report of the Lords*, on which report the absolute-power-of-imprisonment Bill was passed; one of these *charges*, was, that the "Radicals," the "traitors," the "villains," called the *fundholder*, a "*rapacious creature!*" We will call him this no more. We have repented. We have amended. Our foolish brothers of the *Saving-banks* tribe are fundholders; and we will not, if we can avoid it, see them *robbed*. We will make a *stand* for the fundholders; and not see them pillaged, if we can help it, for the sole benefit of the landlords and the parsons. I do not suppose that the pretty gentlemen have any such base and detestable design; but, if they should have, we must use all lawful means in our power to oppose the carrying of such design into execution; unless we have a *reform of parliament*; for that *changes the very nature of the design.*

However, we shall, when London gets full, see a great parcel of big-looking sturdy beggars get together, in gaming-houses and

other places equally vile, and hear them *talking about* reducing the interest of the Debt, and

"Bawling till their lungs be spent"

Against reform of parliament, at the same time. We shall laugh at the great, impudent, jolterheaded fools; but their gabble and bluster; their huffing and swaggering, though it may be their last huff and swagger, may have an effect on *weak minds*; and may make some believe, that the interest of the Debt is *really going to be reduced!* This may have an effect on the funds; for, though the blustering bullies *ought* to be heard with no more attention than we pay to the brayings of so many asses, there are people weak enough to be influenced by such swaggering blades, as we see the old woman, in the play, making curtsies to the fellow, only because he "*swears so loud.*" I remember, that, when I was a very little boy, there was, in the hop-picking time at Farnham, a big fellow that they called *the king of the gypsies*. We used to hear dreadful stories of this fellow's deeds. It was my misfortune to meet him one day round the turning of a narrow lane. I could not be more than six years old. He was a fierce, ruffian looking dog. My heart sunk within me, and I dare say I was as pale as a sheet. It was impossible for me to avoid him. The banks were high, the hedges thick. On I went trembling, more dead than alive; and when I came opposite to him, I *pulled off my little slouched hat*, made him a *low bow*, creeping along, at the same time, close under the bank! His Majesty, whether moved by my ridiculous alarms, or by the thought of his

own importance, cast on me a very *gracious smile*. I have told the story to my children one after another; and they have many times had to remind me of it, when observing upon the servility which we daily see offered up to ignorance, arrogance, and insolence, when accompanied with a hectoring voice and a threatening attitude.

Therefore, I think, that the blustering beggars above mentioned, when they get up to the *Wen*, and crowd the brothels, gaming houses, guttling houses, and other their usual places of resort, may inspire fear, in the minds of some of the fundholders, by bawling about the *absolute necessity* of reducing the interest of the Debt. We may rely, indeed, that *His Majesty's Ministers* and the *Parliament* will adhere firmly to "*national faith*;" but, these beggars may have an *influence*; and, therefore, I advise those fundholders, who *care much about* what they have in the funds, to sell it out as soon as they can, get *sovereigns* with the money, and lock those *sovereigns* safely up for a *little while*, at any rate. They will neither eat nor drink. They cannot prove a *loss*; and they may be a very great gain.

I am

Your faithful Friend,

WM. COBBETT.

TO

MR. JUDGE BAILEY.

MY LORD,

DOES your Worship now think, that a *National Debt* and *Taxes* are national blessings?

Adieu, my Lord.

WM. COBBETT.

## FARMERS' MEETING.

AFTER having taken the opinion of several gentlemen deeply interested in the fate of the Farmers, and anxious to assist in rescuing their neighbours from the jaws of ruin, I hereby invite *two farmers* from each county in England to come to London to compose a Meeting, to be held at the Crown and Anchor in the Strand, on the *Third Tuesday* after the day on which the next Session of Parliament shall begin.—I propose that we shall *dine together* (I being a farmer too), and that the tickets for the dinner shall be *half a sovereign*; which tickets will be prepared, and will be delivered at the places hereafter to be pointed out.—The main thing is to know, as soon as may be, *the names of the gentlemen who mean to come*. We want no unfortunate men who are afraid of *landlords* or *parsons*. Those who are disposed to come will please to write to me, and inform me of their intention. If *more than two* choose to come from any county, there can be no objection.—It is too much to expect gentlemen to come from Scotland, Ireland, or even from Wales; but, if that should be convenient, it would be particularly agreeable to all parties.—The proposed objects of the meeting, are, to *take into consideration the state of the farmers*; and to consult respecting the *circulating of some short paper*, in the form of *Resolution or otherwise*, calculated to make clear to the farmers the *true cause of low prices*, and thereby to enable them to take steps in time to *preserve themselves and families from utter ruin*.—However, the Meeting being once

formed, any gentleman will be at liberty to suggest the taking of any other step that he may think likely to be beneficial.—I have not the vanity to think, that we shall form the most brilliant assembly that ever was heard of in the world; but, while we shall, I hope, show, that we possess *plain common sense*, we shall have the satisfaction of reflecting, that the *seats* at *our* table have not been filled by bribery and corruption.

N.B. The time for the Meeting of parliament is now fixed for *Tuesday, the 5th of February*; therefore the Meeting will take place on *Tuesday, the NINETEENTH* of that month.

#### TO THE RADICALS.

I INTENDED, this week, to state the heads of a Petition against the project of a new *corn bill*; but, I shall delay this a little. The farmers in *this county* do not appear to be fools enough to join in any such project; and, I am in hopes that *Webb Hall* and his silly coadjutors will be able to do nothing. You must be active, however, and prepare for vigorous petitioning *against a repeal of Peel's Bill*; and also *against any reduction of the interest of the Debt unaccompanied by a reform of the parliament*. Pray read with attention my letter to *Lord Grey*, to be published next week.

WM. COBBETT.

COBBETT'S EVENING POST.

THIS Daily Paper was discontinued from causes wholly uncon-

nected with the *sale* of it. If *suitable arrangements can be made*, it will be resumed on the day that parliament will meet; namely, on the 5th of February next. I hate the *sort* of undertaking; but, in what newspaper has there been any thing to give the *farmers*, the *tradesmen*, or any class, such information as was calculated to check the ruin which now spreads over the country like a flood? Do the men, who conduct these papers, convey to the people *any* thing that it is *useful* for them to know? How many *millions* would have been saved from pecuniary destruction, from absolute beggary, from insupportable mortification, if only *some* of these papers had done their duty! The truth is, these papers have, for the far greater part, not only left the people uninformed as to the matters most interesting to them; not only have they done nothing to make the *truth known*; but, they have done all in their power to keep them in *darkness*, and to inculcate *falsehood*. The writers of them have had no ability to do *good*; but they have not wanted ability to do *mischief*, in many ways, and especially by *weakening the effect of my efforts* by incessant calumnies thrown out against me. Those who have believed these vile wretches have been, to be sure, *justly punished*: ruin has been the consequence to many, and half ruin to others. However, I wish to "stay the plague;" and, if I can make arrangements which please myself, I will do it in the way above described. The main object that I have in view, is, to send forth an *early commentary on what passes in parliament*, during the next important session.

I can, with a daily paper, send forth the commentary along with the debate.—Since I set out on my Western Tour, in October, I have met with many men, who have expressed their sorrow at *not having read my Register sooner*, observing, that, if they had, they should not now be in the bad state they are. I have also met with many, who have thanked me for having *preserved them*. One man, a small farmer in Norfolk, has told me, that he has *cleared fifty pounds* last year and this by reading the Register. He was a *believer*; and, both years, meeting with *unbelievers*, he sold his corn (the succeeding crop) *long before the harvest*, and took care to make the bargain before witness and to have earnest-money down. This farmer, who is a very ardent and sensible man, pleased me exceedingly; and, if ever I visit this country again, one of my motives will be to stay a day or two at his house. How many have been *ruined*, some because they have not read the Register, and others, because they did not *believe* what they read! The *Evening Post* will go quicker than the Register can go. It will, very often, tell its readers what *is going to be done*, long before they would hear of it *through any other channel*. It will tell them what *can be done* and what *cannot be done*. It will give the *farmers the real prices of cattle and meat in London*, and not delude them into loss, as they are deluded by the *Evening Mail*, *Bell's Messenger*, and other stupid papers. It will give them information as to the state of wages and prices all over the country. But, above all things,

it will tell them *how to avoid further ruin*.

A SILLY, vile, wretched, despicable paper, called the "*Traveler*," and which ought to be called the "*Vagabond*," in giving a list of the persons about to be tried for libel, says, "Benbow (*Cobbett's Printer*) for a *caricature on the King*." The scoundrel who writes this, knows it to be a lie. The vile *Old Times*, who faithfully copies the *Vagabond*, also knows it to be a lie. They both know, that this printer has printed nothing of mine for nearly a year. Who ought to believe, at any time, papers like these? I am always pleased when I see a man ruined, who has taken the *Old Times* newspaper for any length of time; and, thank God, I do see many such. They are perverse and base wretches, and ruin is what they deserve. This country never could have been in its present state, if it had not been for the aid which Corruption has derived from the newspapers. Always, when I have looked at the circulation of these papers, and have thought of their influence and of the confidence reposed in them, I have exclaimed to myself: "Well! There is no remedy. This nation *must suffer*. It *must suffer*, and *suffer greatly too*." And, this is really the case. The suffering has *begun*; but, it has only begun. Before it be over, it will bring suffering on the miscreants who have promulgated the above *malicious lie*, and upon all the band to which they belong.



## TULL'S HUSBANDRY.

To be published by Subscription.

I MEAN to do this as soon as I have a sufficiency of names, that I know something of, to secure me against all risk of loss. For some time, indeed ever since the publication of my *Year's Residence in America*, I have been receiving applications to republish TULL. These applications are now more pressing than ever; which is very natural, seeing that, at this moment, there are, in several parts of England, to my knowledge, the finest crops of Swedish Turnips, standing in rows at the *Tullian distances*, that, I believe, ever stood upon the face of the earth. Another reason, doubtless is, that the old folio copies that remain amongst the booksellers, one of which I bought in 1812, for seven shillings, now cannot be had under thirty shillings; such has been the rise in its price since I mentioned it in print. There was an Octavo edition published about 20 or 30 years ago; but, in this, is omitted what the editor calls the "controversial part;" and this part is, as it happens, a very essential part of the work; because it explains many things that the author had not sufficiently explained at first; and refutes the erroneous notions that were at work against his system, many of which erroneous notions still prevail but too generally.

I propose to re-publish the whole of the book, except the part which relates to the construction of drills and other implements. This is unnecessary, seeing, that, in this respect, we have far surpassed Mr. TULL, who, being a Lawyer too (would to God that Lawyers were always as usefully employed!) was the first inventor of a drill; which drill, or the principal part of which, he made out of the barrel of an organ that he happened to have in his possession; which shows, by

the bye, that even organs may be made good for something. This was the first drill that ever was made. The agriculture in England had been, up to that time, very nearly what the Romans had introduced; and, as TULL clearly shows, all their erroneous notions had been most faithfully handed down to us from father to son.

TULL went abroad for his health, and, being in the South of France, he observed, that the vineyards were tilled, in the spring and summer, while the vines were producing their fruit. He observed, too, that those vineyards had the best crops and finest fruit that were best and most deeply tilled. On his return to England he applied this sort of cultivation to corn, turnips, Saint Foin and Lucerne; and his book contains an account of the means, the manner, and the result.

But, the chief excellence of the work is, that it shows *why* the thing is as it is; that it shows the *causes*; that it does not lay down rules, but lays down and inculcates principles. It begins with roots, then goes to leaves, then to the food of plants, and the manner in which the food is conveyed into the body. And this is done, too, in so plain a manner, with such elegant simplicity of language, that, after reading his book, one turns with disgust from the dark and deep, the at once lofty and low, jargon of the present day. Even as a piece of style; as a thing to discipline the mind to attention; as something to give it a relish for the solids of writing; as a thing to settle the head; even as such only, this book ought to be read by every young man and by every young woman too. Besides, in what rank of life can either ever be placed to render the first principles of Husbandry and Gardening, these sources of all our food and raiment, wholly useless and unenterprising?

When I last went to America there had never been a field of Swe-

# ADVERTISEMENTS.

dish Turnips in that country. Now, there are thousands upon thousands of such fields, all cultivated in the Tullian manner; and I have just heard of a prodigious crop in *Louisiana* (almost under the tropics) raised from seed which I imported from England. The "*Year's Residence*," in which I gave an account of my Long-Island crops, has induced many gentlemen in England to try the method. I have this year seen, in Norfolk, crops of Swedish Turnips such as, I believe, never were seen *even there* before. I have heard of crops of cabbages, cultivated according to my book, that would appear incredible, if not warranted upon unquestionable authority. In Surrey and in Sussex there are some striking proofs of the excellence of the Tullian cultivation. And, I hear that, in Herefordshire, there are crops of the same description. I shall, by and by, collect the facts. This, besides being a public duty, is also a private one; for, when the "*Year's Residence*" at first appeared, that blind guide, that compound of folly and malice, "*The Farmer's Journal*," treated my book as a *romance* and me as a *liar*.

However, as I have always said, though a great observer of, and taking great delight in, all things belonging to husbandry and gardening, I really was ignorant of the *principles*, till I read TULL, which I did not do till 1812. There are many things, to which, in *detail*, his work cannot apply. In his time that great article, the Swedish Turnip, was unknown in England; and no man had ever thought of raising cabbages, carrots and parsnips for cattle, sheep and hogs to eat. One thing is *my own*; and that is, transplanting in *dry weather* in preference to *wet*. The rest belongs to TULL.

The book will form a *large octavo volume*; and the price cannot well be less, and shall not be more, than *twelve shillings* to the subscribers. As soon as I have names enough

to secure me against loss, I shall begin to print; and when begun, the work will not be more than *thirty days in printing*.

Gentlemen who may choose to subscribe will please to leave their names with Mr. JOHN COBBETT, at "The Register" Office, No. 1, Clement's Inn, or to send them to him by post, *postage paid*. No money will be asked for until the work be ready for delivery. Those who *intend* to have the book, will please to observe, that the *sooner* they send their names, the *sooner* the work will go to the press.

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